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PAGE 01 KINGST 02075 01 OF 08 220048Z

70

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00

XMB-02 OPIC-03 CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 DHA-02

IO-13 AGR-05 FEA-01 /107 W

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 8 KINGSTON 2075/1

E.O. 11652: XGDS2

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, JM, CU, US

SUBJECT: JAMAICA - POLITICAL TRENDS ANALYSIS

1. FOLLOWING IS COUNTRY TEAM ASSESSMENT.

2. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: THE FIVE-YEAR ELECTORAL MANDATE OF PM MANLEY AND HIS GOVERNMENT HAS LESS THAN NINE MONTHS TO RUN. THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN HAS BEGUN. BASIC AREAS OF CONCERN WHICH CURRENTLY DRAW PUBLIC ATTENTION, AND WHICH WILL DOMINATE THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN ARE: VIOLENT CRIME; THE STATE AND DIRECTION OF THE ECONOMY; JAMAICA'S TIES WITH CUBA; AND THE FUTURE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

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PAGE 02 KINGST 02075 01 OF 08 220048Z

MANLEY IS IN TROUBLE ON ALL COUNTS. FOR THE FIRST TIME

SINCE 1972 IT APPEARS THAT THE PNP MIGHT LOSE THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION DESPITE THE PERSONAL POPULARITY OF THE PARTY'S CHARISMATIC LEADER. THE OPPOSITION IS PLAYING TO THE FEARS OF THE ELECTORATE WITH SOME SUCCESS, BUT IS HOLDING BACK ON ANY DETAILED DECLARATION OF ITS OWN POLICIES. IF JLP LEADER EDWARD SEAGA MAKES IT TO JAMAICA HOUSE, RHETORIC WILL BE MUTED AND EMPHASIS WILL BE SHIFTED FROM THIRD-WORLD SOLIDARITY AND SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY TO MORE NARROW AND PRAGMATIC NATIONALISTIC GOALS. THE GOALS OF MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME WITHIN JAMAICAN SOCIETY, JAMAICAN PARTICIPATION IN FOREIGN INVESTMENT, IMPROVED EDUCATION, AND MORE HOUSING WILL REMAIN BASICALLY UNCHANGED.

3. SHOULD MANLEY AND THE PNP BE RETURNED TO OFFICE, IT WILL BE WITH A REDUCED MAJORITY. PRESSURES FROM THE RADICAL WING OF HIS PARTY FOR ACCELERATED IMPLEMENTATION OF A MORE SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST PROGRAM WOULD BE INCREASED. THERE WILL BE A PARALLEL INCREASE IN JLP OPPOSITION TO SUCH A COURSE AND THUS FURTHER VIOLENT POLITICAL POLARIZATION. A MANLEY GOVERNMENT WITH A REDUCED MAJORITY BUT AN UN-DIMINISHED COMMITMENT TO SOCIALISM WILL BE HIGHLY UNSTABLE. WHICHEVER PARTY WINS THE ELECTION, JAMAICA WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK TO THE US AS A MAJOR MARKET FOR BAUXITE/ALUMINA, BUT PRODUCTION AND SUPPLY UNDER A UNSTABLE/RADICALIZED MANLEY GOVERNMENT COULD BE UNDEPENDABLE.

4. BOTH PARTIES WILL ATTEMPT TO INVOLVE THE USG IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. THE PNP WILL USE THE US AS A SCAPEGOAT, TO DIVERT PUBLIC ATTENTION FROM ITS OWN DOMESTIC FAILURES. ACCUSATIONS OF "DESTABILIZATION" EFFORTS ALREADY ARE BEING HEARD. THE JLP WILL QUIETLY SOLICIT OUR SUPPORT AND FUNDS TO STOP WHAT IT CONSIDERS JAMAICA'S MARCH TO COMMUNISM UNDER MANLEY.

5. THERE IS ALSO THE POSSIBILITY THAT SCENARIOS COULD UNFOLD (A LA INDIA AND MADAME GHANDI) WHICH WOULD ASSURE NO ELECTIONS, OR EVEN CUBAN INTERVENTION. THESE SCENARIOS ALL FLOW FROM AN ASSUMPTION OF CIVIL DISORDER REACHING PROPORTIONS WHICH WOULD ALLOW OR EVEN FORCE THE MANLEY

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PAGE 03 KINGST 02075 01 OF 08 220048Z

GOVERNMENT TO DECLARE A "STATE OF EMERGENCY".

6. WHETHER PNP OR JLP, THE NEXT JAMAICAN GOVERNMENT WILL FACE PROFOUND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS WHICH EXCEED ITS ABILITY TO PRODUCE. A JLP GOVERNMENT MOST CERTAINLY WOULD SEEK MASSIVE US ASSISTANCE TO HELP STRAIGHTEN OUT THE ECONOMY. A PNP GOVERNMENT WITH APPROPRIATE "CHEEK" PROBABLY WOULD AS WELL, ALTHOUGH

IT WOULD EXPLORE ALL OTHER POSSIBILITIES FIRST.
END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

7. VIOLENT CRIME. VIOLENCE HAS BEEN A TOOL OF THE POLITICIAN AND A FACET OF JAMAICAN CULTURE FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS. IT IS NOT NEW. WHAT IS NEW IS THE VICIOUSNESS OF VIOLENT CRIME TODAY AND THE SHARP UPWARD TREND OF BOTH POLITICAL AND NON-POLITICAL CRIME.

8. POLITICIANS OF BOTH PARTIES, ESPECIALLY IN THE KINGSTON ARE, MAINTAIN ARMED GANGS OF THUGS WHOSE LOYALTY IS PERSONAL RATHER THAN IDEOLOGICAL. THE PERSONAL LOYALTY IS FOUNDED ON PATRONAGE; THE POLITICIAN'S ABILITY TO PROVIDE HOUSING, JOBS, ETC. THE NON-IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF THE ASSOCIATION IS UNDERLINED BY THE NOT INFREQUENT SHIFTING OF ALLEGIANCES TO HIGHER BIDDERS.

9. POLITICAL CRIME IN THE PAST YEAR (BUT ESPECIALLY SINCE JANUARY 1976) APPEARS TO BE MANIFESTED IN TWO BASIC WAYS. (A) WITH THE ELECTIONS COMING UP MUCH OF THE VIOLENCE HAS BEEN AIMED AT CHANGING THE ELECTORAL COMPOSITION OF KEY CONSTITUENCIES. PARTISAN THUGS, THROUGH FIRE BOMBINGS, MURDER, AND LESSER FORMS OF INTIMIDATION, SEEK TO OUST FROM KEY AREAS THOSE NOT LOYAL TO A PARTICULAR POLITICIAN OR PARTY AND INSERT INTO THOSE AREAS THEIR OWN LOYALISTS.

(B) THERE APPEARS TO BE AN INCREASING NUMBER OF ATTACKS AND ACTS OF INTIMIDATION AGAINST GRASS ROOTS PARTY WORKER/LEADERS IN SENSITIVE POLITICAL CONSTITUENCIES. MANY OF THE MURDERS AND MUCH OF THE ARSON COMMITTED IN KINGSTON SINCE JANUARY PROBABLY CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO THESE TWO CAUSES. HOWEVER, THUGS ARE THUGS -- WHETHER POLITICAL OR OTHERWISE. MANY WHO MAY BE "SOLDIERS" OF

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KINGST 02075 01 OF 08 220048Z

ONE FACTION OR ANOTHER HAVE AN UNFORTUNATE TENDENCY TO FREELANCE DURING THEIR SPARE TIME. THE POLITICAL CRIMINAL MOVES INTO ALL AREAS OF KINGSTON AND BECOMES AN APOLITICAL HOUSEBREAKER, RAPIST, MURDERER, ETC.

10. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE THE POLITICAL FROM THE APOLITICAL CRIME IN JAMAICAN SOCIETY BECAUSE OF THE INTER-ACTION BETWEEN THE TWO. MOST OF THE POLITICAL "SOLDIERS" WERE CRIMINALS TO BEGIN WITH AND REMAIN SO, EXCEPT THEY ENJOY A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF POLITICAL PROTECTION IF CAUGHT IN SOME PURELY CRIMINAL ACT. WHEN POLITICAL WARFARE BREAKS OUT IN THE GHETTO AREAS, SECURITY FORCES ARE CONCENTRATED THERE TO CONTROL THE SITUATION. LESSENERED POLICE COVERAGE OF OTHER AREAS OF THE CITY RENDERS THEM MORE VULNERABLE TO SUCCESSFUL CRIMINAL ACTIVITY BY THE

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 KINGST 02075 02 OF 08 220059Z

70

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 8 KINGSTON 2075/2

POLITICALLY NEUTRAL CULPRIT WHOSE BACKGROUND IS GHETTO
UNEMPLOYMENT.

11. THE SITUATION IS MADE MORE SERIOUS BY THE FACT
THAT GUNMEN HAVE DEVELOPED A NICHE FOR THEMSELVES IN
JAMAICAN FOLK CULTURE. EVERYONE CONDEMNS VIOLENT CRIME,
YET FEW ARE PREPARED TO DO MUCH ABOUT IT; UNEMPLOYED
YOUTH IDOLIZE THE GUNMEN TO THE POINT OF EMULATION.
POSSESSION OF A WEAPON, A MOTORCYCLE, MEMBERSHIP IN AN
ARMED GANG, AN A RECORD OF VIOLENT CRIME BECOME STATUS
SYMBOLS.

12. THE JAMAICAN SECURITY FORCES -- THE POLICE AND THE

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KINGST 02075 02 OF 08 220059Z

SRMY -- ARE RECKONED TO BE AT LEAST 75 PERCENT UNDER STRENGTH GIVEN THE CHARACTER OF THE THREAT (DEFENSE ATTACHE'S ESTIMATE) AND ADDITIONALLY SUFFER FROM A LEGACY OF DIS-TRUST AND DISTASTE INHERITED FROM A COLONIAL PERIOD WHEN POLICE WERE SEEN AS OPPRESSORS.

13. THE PROBLEM IS COMPOUNDED BY INCREASING POLITICALIZA-TION OF THE UPPER COMMAND LEVELS OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE "UNTOUCHABLE" CHARACTER OF MANY OF THE GANG LEADERS AND POLITICIANS MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR GANG WARFARE AND OTHER FORMS OF VIOLENT CRIME IN KINGSTON. ALL POLITICIANS AS A MATTER OF POLITICAL NECESSITY CONDEMN AND DECRY POLITICAL VIOLENCE. FEW ARE PREPARED TO TAKE THE ACTION NECESSARY TO HALT IT, I.E. DISMANTLING THE GANGS WHICH ENFORCE THE POLITICIANS' WILL AND FIGHT THEIR BATTLES ON THE THE STREETS. NEITHER SIDE IS PREPARED TO UNILATERALLY DISARM ITSELF AND NO ARMISTICE IS IN SIGHT.

14. WHATEVER THE ORIGINS, "LAW AND ORDER" HAVE BECOME A KEY POLITICAL ISSUE. JAMAICA IS SCARED. THE SCOURGE AFFLICTS EVERY STRATA OF SOCIETY. THE MIDDLE CLASS CRIES LOUDEST, THE POOR ARE THE MOST FREQUENT VICTIMS. THIS IS THE UNIVERSAL ISSUE. THE SOCIOLOGISTS' OFFERINGS AS TO THE ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM DO NOT RELIEVE IT. RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, THE POLITICAIAN IN POWER IS HELD RESPONSIBLE. NEITHER THE GUN COURT, NOR SATURATION POLICE/MILITARY PATROLLING AND MASSIVE CURFEWS HAS STEMMED IT. MANLEY HAS TRIED TO LABEL THE OPPOSITION AND VAGUE "DESTABILIZING" AGENTS AS THE INSTIGATORS AND CULPRITS. JOHN DOE HAS NOT BOUGHT THE EXPLANATION. HE RECOGNIZES, ACCURATELY, THAT THERE ARE THUGS IN BOTH PARTIES. THE P.M. HOWEVER, COMMANDS THE SECURITY FORCES. WHY CAN'T HE STAMP OUT THE VIOLENCE, PROVE HIS CASE, AND BOX THE JLP? MANLEY'S CREDIBILITY SUFFERS. WHILE THE CRIME PROBLEM IS NOT AS SIMPLE OR ALWAYS AS POLITICAL AS MANY WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE, IT IS AN INCUMBENT PROBLEM. MANLEY IS THE NET LOSER.

15. THE CUBAN CONNECTION AND FUTURE CHARACTER OF JAMAICA. THIS IS PARTIALLY A SYMBOLIC ISSUE, AT LEAST
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PAGE 03 KINGST 02075 02 OF 08 220059Z

FOR THE MOMENT, WHICH EMBODIES A FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN

FOR THE SURVIVAL OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, AND OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN JAMAICA. POLITICAL DISCOURSE ON THE SUBJECT IS HIGHLY EMOTIONAL AND GENERALLY DEVOID OF FACTUAL EVIDENCE. IT IS A POLITICAL PROBLEM WHICH MANLEY CREATED FOR HIMSELF. HIS GUSHING EMBRACE OF CASTRO AND THE CUBAN SOCIAL SYSTEM WHEN HE VISITED HAVANA LAST JULY CONFIRMED THE WORST FEARS OF HIS OPPONENTS AND LENT CREDENCE TO THEIR ASSERTIONS THAT THE PNP GOVERNMENT WAS INTENT ON EMULATING THE CUBAN MODEL.

16. THE ARRIVAL OF CLOSE TO 300 CUBANS TO CONSTRUCT THE TWICKENHAM PARK SCHOOL, THE FALMOUTH LOW-COST HOUSING PROJECT AND THE MICRO-DAMS SCHEME HAVE TRIGGERED A SPATE OF OPPOSITION-INSPIRED RUMORS THAT WEAPONS ARE BEING SMUGGLED INTO THE COUNTRY UNDER THE GUISE OF MATERIALS FOR THESE PROJECTS. MANY JAMAICANS BELIEVE THESE STORIES AND DELIGHT IN REPEATING THEM DESPITE THE LACK OF SUPPORTING EVIDENCE.

17. THE UNRESTRAINED PRAISE FOR ALL THINGS CUBAN EMANATING FROM THE PNP -- ESPECIALLY FROM MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DUDLEY THOMPSON, MINISTER OF HEALTH KEN MCNEILL, AND PNP SECRETARY GENERAL DUNCAN, LOOKS LIKE IT MIGHT BE BACKFIRING. THE ADULATION OF CUBA AND ITS "ACHIEVEMENTS" IMPLIES INCAPABILITY ON THE PART OF JAMAICA TO COME UP WITH SOLUTIONS TO ITS PROBLEMS, A NOTION MANY CITIZENS REJECT. THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF JAMAICANS STILL LIVING IN CUBA. THEIR INABILITY TO VISIT RELATIVES AND REMIT EARNINGS, AND THEIR GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF LIFE IN CUBA CONTRAST SHARPLY WITH THE UTOPIAN IMAGE PEDDLED BY THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT.

18. THE PROJECTION OF CUBAN POWER INTO ANGOLA HAS HEIGHTENED FEARS OF POSSIBLE CUBAN INVOLVEMENT LOCALLY TO MAINTAIN THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT IN POWER. IF THEY ARE WILLING TO INTERVENE TO IMPOSE A MINORITY GOVERNMENT THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY, WHAT IS GOING TO STOP THEM FROM RESPONDING TO AN APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE FROM NEXT DOOR?

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PAGE 04 KINGST 02075 02 OF 08 220059Z

19. THE OPPOSITION JLP APPEARS INTENT ON PUSHING THE

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PAGE 01 KINGST 02075 03 OF 08 220102Z

70

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 8 KINGSTON 2075/3

"COMMUNIST TAKEOVER" THEME. INCREASING LAND, INCOME AND CONSUMPTION TAXES ARE CHARACTERIZED AS CONFISCATORY MEASURES PREPARATORY TO THE IMPOSITION OF A COMMUNIST SYSTEM. MUCH OF THE JLP PROPAGANDA IS HEAVY HANDED -- BUT IT IS HAVING ITS AFFECT. PNP POLITICIANS OUT ON THE HUSTINGS, INCLUDING MINISTERS, FEEL COMPELLED TO DENY THAT THEY ARE COMMUNISTS OR THAT THE PNP GOVERNMENT WILL GO COMMUNIST. THE CREDIBILITY OF THE DENIALS, HOWEVER, IS IMPAIRED BY THE MARXIST RHETORIC OF THE PNP YOUTH ORGANIZATION AND ESPECIALLY ITS LEADER LOUIS CASTRIOTTA (WHO IS IN LOOSE POLITICAL ALLIANCE WITH DR. TREVOR MUNROE, AN AVOWED COMMUNIST, AND THE LATTER'S WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE). EVEN PNP SECRETARY D.K. DUNCAN AND MANLEY'S

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PAGE 02 KINGST 02075 03 OF 08 220102Z

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY, ARNOLD BERTRAM, CONTRIBUTE IN FULL MEASURE TO MANLEY'S "MARXIST PROBLEM".

20. WHEN THE RADICAL LEFT IN THE PNP PROVED A LIABILITY IN THE EARLY 1950'S, MANLEY'S FATHER PURGED THEM FROM THE PARTY. THE SON APPARENTLY DOES NOT CHOOSE TO EMULATE HIS FATHER'S ACTION. MINISTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY KEBLE MUNN CLAIMS THAT THE P.M. HAS "SET ON" THE YOUTH AND OTHER PNP RADICALS. "HOW HARD?" IS THE QUESTION. THE RADICALS' RHETORIC AND PROFILE HAVE BEEN LOWER IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS, BUT ALL OF THE KEY MARXISTS REMAIN IN THEIR POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE. THEIR SILENCE AND RELATIVE INACTION MAY BE BROKEN WITH A VENGEANCE AFTER THE ELECTIONS -- NO MATTER WHO WINS.

21. CASTRO HAS AN OUTSTANDING INVITATION TO VISIT JAMAICA. ACCORDING TO SEVERAL SOURCES HE TENTATIVELY WAS SCHEDULED TO COME IN LATE MAY. THAT PLAN NOW APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SCRAPPED. IT IS THE EMBASSY'S BEST GUESTIMATE THAT HE WILL NOT COME BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTION DESPITE P.M. MANLEY'S PROTESTATIONS TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT CASTRO WOULD BE WELCOME AT ANY TIME AND THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD PREFER THAT HE VISIT BEFORE THE ELECTION. A "GOOD NEIGHBOR" EXTRAVAGANZA FEATURING MANLEY AND CASTRO WOULD ONLY SERVE TO INCREASE A PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION OF THE P.M. WITH THE COMMUNIST LEADER THAT WOULD NOT HELP AT THE POLLS. MANLEY MAY CLAIM NOT TO BE SENSITIVE TO SUCH A CONSIDERATION, BUT THE CUBANS PROBABLY ARE. THE POLITICAL LIABILITY FACTOR COMBINED WITH A MORE SERIOUS CONCERN FOR SECURITY PROBABLY HAVE LED TO A CUBAN DECISION TO PUT OFF THE VISIT AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT. IN THE MEANTIME, THE HIGH LEVEL OF CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES WILL CONTINUE IN AN EFFORT TO LESSEN PUBLIC APPREHENSION OF THINGS CUBAN. EMPHASIS WILL BE ON CUBA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, AND ON ITS LIBERATING ROLE IN AFRICA VIS-A-VIS THE WHITE SUPREMIST REGIMES.

22. THE STATE AND DIRECTION OF THE ECONOMY. EARNINGS FROM SUGAR, BAUXITE, TOURISM AND BANANAS WERE ALL DOWN
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PAGE 03 KINGST 02075 03 OF 08 220102Z

IN 1975. THE PROGNOSIS FOR THESE MAINSTAYS OF THE JAMAICAN ECONOMY IN 1976 IS NO BETTER. FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES ARE AT AN ALL-TIME LOW. GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES VASTLY EXCEED INCOME. IN REAL TERMS THE GDP IS ESTIMATED TO HAVE DECLINED 2 PERCENT IN 1975. THE IBRD PREDICTS A FURTHER 6 PERCENT REGRESSION IN GDP IN 1976 UNLESS STRINGENT CORRECTIVE MEASURES ARE TAKEN.

23. DESPITE BRAVE WORDS ABOUT TIGHTENING THE BELT, FEW HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S WILL AND ABILITY TO EXERCISE FISCAL RESTRAINT. THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS MORIBUND. ITS LEADERS SIMPLY DO NOT TRUST P.M. MANLEY. EXPANSION OR NEW INVESTMENT IS FURTHEST FROM THEIR MINDS. MANY ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH GETTING WHAT ASSETS THEY HAVE (AND THEMSELVES) OUT OF THE COUNTRY BEFORE THEY ARE TAXED AWAY OR CONFISCATED. THE P.M.'S ASSURANCES THAT HE IS COMMITTED TO A MIXED ECONOMY FALL ON DEAF EARS.

24. MANLEY CAMPAIGNED IN 1972 ON THE SLOGAN "BETTER MUST COME". IT HIT A RESPONSIVE CHORD WITH THE ELECTORATE -- PARTICULARLY A MIDDLE CLASS DISGUSTED WITH THE REAL AND WHISPERED GRAFT AND CORRUPTION OF THE INCUMBENT JLP GOVERNMENT. KICKBACKS, FAVORITISM IN THE GRANTING OF CONTRACTS, AND THE GLOBE-TROTTING OF MINISTERS FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN THE POLITICAL DEBATE AND HELPED LEAD TO THE JLP DEFEAT.

25. THE EXPECTATION OF CHANGE FOR THE BETTER, WHICH INFLUENCED MANY VOTERS IN 1972, HAS NOT BEEN REALIZED. "BITTER HAS COME" IS TODAY'S SLOGAN AND IT IS BEING EFFECTIVELY EXPLOITED BY THE OPPOSITION. THE COMPULSORY PAYROLL DEDUCTION FOR THE NATIONAL HOUSING TRUST, THE SCARCITY OF GOODS DUE TO IMPORT RESTRICTIONS, AND DRAMATICALLY INCREASED TAXES (LAND, INCOME, CONSUMPTION, ETC.) ARE RESENTED. THE COST OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS HAS SOARED, E.G. A CAN OF SALTFISH (A STAPLE OF THE JAMAICAN DIET) HAS RISEN FROM 35 CENTS IN 1972 TO OVER 90 CENTS TODAY. ALTHOUGH INFLATION IS LESS THAN LAST YEAR'S 16 PERCENT, IT IS STILL RUNNING AT 12 PERCENT. THE GOJ HAS TAKEN OVER THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMPANY, THE TELEPHONE COMPANY, AND THE

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PAGE 01 KINGST 02075 04 OF 08 220107Z

70

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 8 KINGSTON 2075/4

JAMAICA OMNIBUS COMPANY. AS A RESULT, UTILITY RATES HAVE SOARED AS THE GOJ HAS NOT ONLY INCREASED RATES BUT ELIMINATED THE SUBSIDY AS WELL. THE TELEPHONE COMPANY HAS REQUESTED A 65 PERCENT RATE INCREASE AND THE COST OF HIGHER WAGES FOR BUS COMPANY EMPLOYEES, WHEN GRANTED, WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE PASSED ON TO THE CONSUMERS. SHORTAGES OF RICE AND COOKING OIL CONTINUE TO PLAGUE THE CONSUMER. IN SHORT, SINCE MANLEY CAME TO POWER, PRICES AND SHORTAGES OF EVERYTHING THE AVERAGE CONSUMER/ VOTER NEEDS HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED; AT THE SAME TIME, HE PAYS HIGHER INCOME, PROPERTY, AND EXCISE TAXES. FOR MANY, THE MANLEY YEARS HAVE CULMINATED IN PAYING MORE TO PURCHASE LESS -- BUT THE JLP HAS YET ADEQUATELY
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PAGE 02 KINGST 02075 04 OF 08 220107Z

TO EXPLOIT THIS ISSUE.

26. JLP CORRUPTION MAY HAVE BEEN REPUGNANT BUT IT DID NOT NECESSARILY DIRECTLY AFFECT THE AVERAGE CITIZEN. THE PNP'S PERFORMANCE OF LACK OF IT, HOWEVER, HAS TOUCHED THE LIVES OF VIRTUALLY EVERY JAMAICAN. MANY FEEL THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING HAS REGRESSED UNDER THE PNP AND EXPECT IT TO DETERIORATE EVEN FURTHER. THE OPTIMISTS DO NOT ANTICIPATE A ROLL-BACK IN TAXATION OR THE COST OF LIVING BUT SIMPLY HOPE FOR A BREATHING SPACE BEFORE BEING HIT WITH ANOTHER ROUND OF INCREASES.

27. THE PNP MAY LOSE. DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PNP IS AT ITS HIGHEST POINT SINCE 1972. THERE HAS BEEN A MARKED DECREASE IN VOTER CONFIDENCE IN THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT SINCE THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO CUBA

LAST SUMMER. THE JANUARY RIOTS IN WEST KINGSTON ACCELERATED THE DECLINE, WHICH HAS NOW REACHED THE POINT WHERE THE PNP MIGHT LOSE THE UPCOMING GENERAL DELECTION DESPITE THE PERSONAL (BUT WANING) PUPULARITY OF THE PARTY'S CHARISMATIC LEADER. THE OPPOSITION JLP IS EBULLIENT AND CLAIMS MAJOR GAINS OF SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY IN THE WESTERN END OF THE ISLAND AND IN THE RURAL AREAS.

28. THE JLP'S OPTIMISM IS MATCHED BY A GROWING GLOOM AMONG THE OLDER AND MORE MODERATE RANKS OF THE PNP. IMPORTANT MANLEY SUPPORTERS (E.G. FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. DOUGLAS FLETCHER AND MINISTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY KEBLE MUNN) HAVE ADMITTED TO THE EMBASSY THAT A PNP DEFEAT IN THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION IS VERY MUCH A POSSIBILITY.

29. THE DISAFFECTION OF FORMER MINISTER OF MINES AND NATIONAL RESOURCES ALLAN ISAACS, AND HIS RESIGNATION FROM THE PNP IN LATE JANUARY, SHATTERED THE IMAGE OF PARTY SOLIDARITY AND COHESION. HIS CONDEMNATION OF THE CULT OF PERSONALITY BEING ERECTED AROUND THE P.M.,

AND OF EMULATION OF THE CUBAN MODEL HIT HOME WITH MANY PARTY FAITHFUL. ISAACS' CHARGE OF THE ASCENDANCY OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KINGST 02075 04 OF 08 220107Z

THE UNELECTED PARTY OFFICIAL OVER CABINET GOVERNMENT EPITOMIZED THE CONCERNS OF MANY TRADITIONAL PNP SUPPORTERS. COMING FROM A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE PARTY, AUTHOR OF THE 1972 ELECTION MANIFESTO, AND FORMER PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO THE PM'S FATHER, NORMAN MANLEY, ISAACS' CHARGES CARRIED CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT.

30. OTHER PNP POLITICAINS ARE DEFECTING OR DROPPING OUT AS WELL. FORMER MINISTER OF JUSTICE NOEL SILVERA HAS BROKEN WITH MANLEY, AND HAS BEGUN TO OPENLY CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT FROM THE BACK BENCH IN PARLIAMENT. SILVERA, WHO HAS A STRONG PERSONAL FOLLOWING IN HIS CONSTITUENCY, IS EXPECTED TO RESIGN FROM THE PNP AND POSSIBLY STAND FOR REELECTION AS AN INDEPENDENT - PERHAPS WITH JLP BACKING. OWEN SINCLAIR (PNP MEMBER FOR WESTERN WESTMORELAND AND PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS) SIMPLY HAS GIVEN UP AND IS EMIGRATING WITH HIS FAMILY TO THE U.S. SINCLAIR BITTERLY COMPLAINS THAT MANLEY LISTENS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO SUCH LEFT-WING ADVISORS AS DUNCAN AND BERTRAM AND VIRTUALLY IGNORES PNP PARLIAMENTARIANS AND CABINET.

31. PRECISELY HOW DEEP THE DISAFFECTION IN THE PNP RUNS

IS HARD TO TELL, BUT IT APPEARS SERIOUS. MODERATE MINI-
STERS ARE DISINCLINED TO TELL TALES OUT OF SCHOOL BUT
HINT TO FRIENDS THAT THEY ARE FED UP WITH POLITICAL LIFE,
ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE DIRECTION IN WHICH MANLEY IS TAKING
THE COUNTRY, AND WILL NOT STAND FOR REELECTION. THE
POWERFUL MATALON FAMILY IS DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH THE
PRIME MINISTER'S PERFORMANCE, ESPECIALLY IN THE ECONOMIC
SPHERE, IS BECOMING MORE OPEN IN ITS CRITICISM, AND MAY
BE BREAKING WITH HIM.

32. THE YOUNGER, LIBERAL, "WITH IT" BUSINESSMEN AND CIVIL
SERVANTS WHO ACTIVELY SUPPORTED MANLEY IN 1972 FEEL
PERSONALLY BETRAYED BY THE P.M. AND ARE NOW EXTREMELY
BITTER. NOT ONLY HAS THEIR OWN OX BEEN GORED -- PARTI-
CULARLY IN THE CASE OF THE BUSINESSMEN -- BUT THEY FEEL THEY HAVE
BEEN PROVEN TO BE THE NAIVE FOOLS THEIR PARENTS AND PEERS
ACCUSED THEM OF BEING WHEN THEY JUMPED ON THE MANLEY BAND-
WAGON IN 1972. THOUGH NOT NUMEROUS, THIS GROUP IS VERY
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PAGE 04 KINGST 02075 04 OF 08 220107Z

INFLUENTIAL AND IS ENERGETICALLY WORKING TO MAKE SURE

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PAGE 01 KINGST 02075 05 OF 08 220109Z

70

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00

XMB-02 OPIC-03 CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 DHA-02

IO-13 AGR-05 FEA-01 /107 W

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R 211600Z MAY 76

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

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INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 8 KINGSTON 2075/5

THE P.M. IS NOT REELECTED.

33. PRIVATE SECTOR CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS NOW ARE FLOWING ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO THE JLP. WHEREAS THE PNP COMMANDED THE LION'S SHARE IN 1972. THE TRADITIONAL INCUMBENT ELECTION YEAR TACTIC OF FUNDING "SPECIAL" PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS TO BOOST EMPLOYMENT AND INFLUENCE VOTERS WILL BE EMPLOYED BY THE PNP, BUT THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROGRAM WILL BE CIRCUMSCRIBED BY THE SEVERELY STRAINED NATIONAL BUDGET.

34. JLP STRENGTHENED. THE DISUNITY AND POOR ORGANIZATION WHICH PLAGUED THE JLP IN THE 1972 GENERAL ELECTION AND
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PAGE 02 KINGST 02075 05 OF 08 220109Z

THE 1974 PARISH COUNCIL ELECTIONS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN COVERCOME. SINCE HIS ELECTION AS PARTY LEADER IN NOVEMBER 1974, EDWARD SEAGA HAS REVITALIZED THE PARTY APPARATUS AND CLAIMS HE IS READY TO SUCCESSFULLY CONTEST AN ELECTION, EVEN IF IT SHOULD BE CALLED TOMORROW. HE HAS PRUNED PARTY DEADWOOD AND SHUNTED ASIDE FORMER JLP MINISTERS VULNERABLE TO CHARGES OF CORRUPTION.

35. SEAGO AHS BEGUN INTRODUCING THE JLP CANDIDATES WHO WILL CONTEST THE ELECTION; BY AND LARGE THEY ARE AN IMPRESSIVE GROUP. MANY ARE RESPECTED AND WELL-KNOWN PROFESSIONALS WHO, THOUGH POLITICALLY ACTIVE, HAVE NOT PREVIOUSLY STOOD FOR OFFICE. IN GENERAL, THEY ARE A YOUNGER AND MORE DYNAMIC GROUP THAN THAT WHICH CARRIED THE JLP STANDARD IN 1972.

36. SEAGA'S RELATIONS WITH FORMER P.M. HUGH SHEARER ARE EXCELLENT, DESPITE PNP INSPIRED RUMORS TO THE CONTRARY. THERE IS A CLEAR AND APPARENTLY EFFECTIVE DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THEM. SEAGA IS CONCENTRATING ON PURELY PARTY MATTERS, WHILE SHEARER DEVOTES HIMSELF TO STRENGTHENING THE PARTY'S LABOR SUPPORT THROUGH ITS TRADE UNION AFFILIATE -- THE BITU. SHEARER IS PLOWING

A FERTILE FIELD AS LABOR, PARTICULARLY THE MORE HIGHLY SKILLED WORKERS, ARE UNHAPPY WITH WAGE GUIDELINES ANNOUNCED BY GOVERNMENT.

37. JLP POLICY ILL-DEFINED. THE JLP HAS BEEN DOING VERY WELL BY JUST CRITICIZING THE ACTIONS OF THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT AND IS DISINCLINED TO DEFINE WITH ANY SPECIFICITY WHAT ITS OWN POLICIES WOULD BE LEST IT PROVIDE THE PNP WITH FIXED TARGETS TO COUNTERATTACK. IT ALSO IS RELUCTANT TO OFFER PROMISES IT CANNOT FULFILL -- IF ELECTED TO OFFICE. AT THE LAST PARTY CONFERENCE, SEAGA DECLARED THAT THE JLP STOOD FOR A POLICY OF "NATIONALISM". HE GAVE NO COHERENT EXPLANATION OF WHAT IT MEANT BUT HAS SINCE PROVIDED A FEW VAGUE CLUES AS TO WHAT THE JLP MIGHT DO ONCE IN OFFICE.

38. SEAGA HAS LABELLED THE PNP'S APPROACH TO INCOME REDISTRIBUTION AS A "PULLING DOWN" PROCESS WHICH STIFLES CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KINGST 02075 05 OF 08 220109Z

GROWTH. HE HAS PLEDGED THE JLP TO A "PULLING UP" POLICY WHEREBY INCREASED REAL INCOME FOR THE DISADVANTAGED WOULD BE FINANCED FROM FUNDS GENERATED BY GROWTH IN THE ECONOMY. SEAGA BELIEVES THAT, UNDER PROPER REGULATIONS, THE MODERN URBAN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO USE ITS OWN INITIATIVE FOR DEVELOPMENT WHILE GOVERNMENT RESOURCES ARE CONCENTRATED ON SMALL FARMERS AND THE SMALL ENTERPRISE SECTOR.

39. SEAGA HAS IDENTIFIED THREE MAJOR ISSUES ON WHICH THE JLP WILL CAMPAIGN: (A) THE ABUSE OF POWER BY THE GOVERNMENT (E.G. PNP MANIPULATION OF THE JAMAICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION); (B) FINANCIAL MIS-MANAGEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT, AND (C) THE PNP'S PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM. "VICTIMIZATION" (THE DOLING OUT OF JOBS, HOUSING, ETC. ON A PARTISAN BASIS) MUST BE BROUGHT TO AN END. SEAGA ACKNOWLEDGES THAT VICTIMIZATION DID NOT BEGIN WITH THE PNP, BUT ALLEGES IT HAS REACHED AN OPPRESSIVE LEVEL UNDER THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT. TO RECTIFY THE SITUATION, HE PROPOSES LEGAL CODES OF CONDUCT AND LEGISLATION OF POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS TO PROTECT JAMAICANS FROM THE SUPER-POWERFUL STATE.

40. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A SEAGA AND THE PRESENT MANLEY GOVERNMENT IN SOME AREAS MIGHT BE LARGELY ONE OF DEGREE RATHER THAN KIND. A CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO MAJOR SOCIAL PROGRAMS IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION, PUBLIC HOUSING, AS WELL AS EFFORTS TO ASSURE A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, CAN BE EXPECTED. THE JLP'S FOREIGN POLICY WOULD BE A MORE MUTED AND PRAGMATIC VERSION OF MANLEY'S THE DIVERSIFICATION OF TRADING

PARTNERS AND QUEST FOR HIGHER PRICES FOR JAMAICAN EXPORTS
TO THE DEVELOPED WORLD WOULD CONTINUE. "JAMAICANIZATION"
OF MAJOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT ALSO WOULD CONTINUE, E.G.
THE NEGOTIATED PURCHASE OF MAJORITY EQUITY CONTROL OF
THE BAUXITE COMPANIES WILL NOT BE REVERSED. BUT THIS
WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY EFFORTS TO RE-ESTABLISH FOREIGN
(AND DOMESTIC) PRIVATE INVESTOR CONFIDENCE IN JAMAICA'S
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CLIMATE, AND RENEWED FOREIGN
INVESTMENT IN PARTNERSHIP WITH JAMAICAN CAPITAL. THE
DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
WILL NOT BE REVERSED BUT WILL BE PURSUED ON A MORE PRAG-
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PAGE 04 KINGST 02075 05 OF 08 220109Z

MATIC AND LESS IDEOLOGICAL BASIS. DOMESTIC POLITICAL
REQUIREMENTS WILL DICTATE CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT IN
AFRICAN ISSUES.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KINGST 02075 06 OF 08 220232Z

70

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00

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R 211600Z MAY 76

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 6 OF 8 KINGSTON 2075/6

41. THE ELECTIONS. THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT WILL GO FULL TERM. IT HAS TO WAIT UNTIL NOVEMBER BEFORE IT CONSTITUTIONALLY CAN REDISTRICT AND CREAT UP TO SEVEN NEW CONSTITUENCIES. AS IT WOULD BE THE BENEFICIARY OF THE PROCESS, IT IS VERY DOUBTFUL THAT AN ELECTION WILL BE CALLED BEFORE THEN. FEBRUARY/MARCH 1977 IS THE MOST LIKELY TIME, ALTHOUGH IT COULD TAKE PLACE AS LATE AS THE END OF MAY. TRADITIONALLY, ELECTIONS ARE SCHEDULED FOR EARLY SPRING WHEN EMPLOYMENT IN THE SUGAR AND TOURIST INDUSTRIES IS AT A PEAK.

42. THE MAGNITUDE OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS ARGUES FOR GOING FULL TERM. MANLEY CAN USE ALL THE TIME HE CAN
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KINGST 02075 06 OF 08 220232Z

GET TO SCORE THE "ACCOMPLISHMENTS" HE NEEDS TO PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION FOR A PNP REELECTION CAMPAIGN. THE BASIC LABOR CONTRACT FOR BAUXITE WORKERS EXPIRED A YEAR AGO AND A NEW CONTRACT IS STILL A LONG WAY OFF. PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BAUXITE/ALUMINA COMPANIES ARE MOVING FORWARD, BUT AT A SNAIL'S PACE. THE JAVAMEX ALUMINA COMPLEX IS STILL IN THE TALK STAGE. THE MUCH-HERALDED PROJPOSAL TO CONSTRUCT A REFINERY AT LUANA POINT HAS ONLY PRODUCED ORATORICAL GAS, DESPITE GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED EFFORTS TO GET THE PROJECT MOVING.

43. THE DECLINE IN PNP POPULARITY IS BOTH HEARTENING AND FRIGHTENING TO MANLEY'S OPPONENTS. THE FEAR IS THAT THE PNP, REALIZING IT MAY WELL BE TURNED OUT OF OFFICE, ITILL RESORT TO EXTRA-LEGAL MEANS TO PERPETUATE ITSELF IN POWER. ONE CAN ASSUME A HIGH INCIDENCE OF BOGUS VOTING AND REGISTRATION WILL TAKE PLACE. THE LEVEL OF VOTER INTIMIDATION, HOWEVER, WILL BE A KEY DETERMINANT OF THE NATURE AND OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION.

4. THE MIDDLE CLASS, THE NON-UNIONIZED, AND SMALL LAND HOLDERS TRADITIONALLY HAVE MADE UP THE "SWING VOTE" IN JAMAICAN ELECTIONS. THIS IS THE GROUP WHICH PUT MANLEY IN OFFICE IN 1972 AND NOW HAS TURNED AGAINST HIM. THEY WOULD BE THE LOGICAL TARGETS OF INTIMIDATION EFFORTS TO KEEP THEM AWAY FROM THE POLLS.

45. THE JLP VIEWS THE ELECTION AS A "DO OR DIE" CONTEST

AND WILL COUNTER PNP INTIMIDATION EFFORTS WITH FORCE OF ITS OWN. HOW NUMEROUS OR BLOODY THE INEVITABLE PRE-ELECTION INCIDENTS WILL BE IS HARD TO PREDICT, BUT THERE IS GENERAL CONSENSUS AMONG MOST LOCAL POLITICAL OBSERVERS THAT IT WILL BE THE ROUGHEST ELECTION IN JAMAICA'S HISTORY. ALREADY A PATTERN OF MURDER, BEATINGS, AND ARSON -- DIRECTED AT EACH PARTY'S GRASS-ROOTS LEADERSHIP AND FOLLOWING -- IS EMERGING.

46. THE CONCERN IS OFTEN HEARD FROM THE OPPOSITION, INCLUDING SEAGA, THAT THERE MIGHT NOT BE AN ELECTION; THAT THE P.M. "WILL PULL A GHANDI". THE LINE GOES THAT MANLEY WILL CALL ON THE PNP'S THUGS (OR PROVOKE JLP THUGS) CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KINGST 02075 06 OF 08 220232Z

TO FOMENT A DIVIL DISTURBANCE, WHICH HE WILL SEIZE UPON AS JUSTIFICATION TO DECLARE A STATE OF EMERGENCY. "ACTS AND UTTERANCES" LEGISLATION WOULD THEN BE RAMMED THROUGH PARLIAMENT AND KEY OPPOSITION LEADERS DETAINED.

47. A GHANDI SCENARIO IS A REAL POSSIBILITY. WE NOW KNOW FROM BRIGADIER GREEN (JDF CHIEF OF STAFF) THAT MANLEY PLANNED TO DECLARE A STATE OF EMERGENCY IN JANUARY DURING THE WEST KINGSTON RIOTS. THE P.M. WAS SISSUADED FROM ACTING ONLY AFTER A FOUR-HOUR SESSION WITH THE BRIGADIER, DURING WHICH THE LATTER FORCEFULLY ARGUED AGAINST SUCH ACTION. IN THE WAKE OF THE RIOTS GOVERNMENT DID ANNOUNCE THAT IT WOULD INTRODUCE "ACTS AND UTTERANCES" LEGISLATION, BUT DID NOT PURSUE IT IN THE FACE OF LARGE SCALE PUBLIC OPPOSITION LED BY THE JAMAICA COUNCIL OF CHURCES (NORMALLY SYMPATHETIC TO THE PNP) AND OTHER INFLUENTIAL PUBLIC SERVICE AND PRIVATE SECTOR GROUPS. A PROPOSAL TO ARREST SEAGA FOR DISCLOSING A CLASSIFIED CABINET PAPER WAS ALSO CONTEMPLATED BUT REPORTEDLY WAS REJECTED FOLLOWING THE FORCEFUL INTERVENTION OF NWU LEADER SENATOR CARYLE DUNKLEY. DUNKLEY ARGUED THAT SEAGA'S ARREST WOULD NOT RESULT IN A CONVICTION, WOULD MAKE HIM A POLITICAL MARTYR, AND RISK A CALL FOR A GENERAL STRIKE BY BITU LEADER HUGH SHEARER.

48. IN FAIRNESS TO MANLEY, HE EQUALLY COULD BE FORCED BY EVENTS INTO DECLARING A STATE OF EMERGENCY. DISTURBANCES INSTIGATED BY THE OPPOSITION OR THE FAR LEFT AS REPRESENTED BY TREVOR MUNROE AND THE WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE AND EVEN ELEMENTS OF HIS OWN PARTY, COULD FORCE HIM TO TAKE SUCH ACTION. THE SECURITY FORCES' ABILITY TO CONTROL THE CURRENT LEVEL OF VIOLENCE IS FRAGILE AT BEST AND IT WOULD NOT TAKE MUCH MORE TO FORCE A STATE OF EMERGENCY -- ESPECIALLY IF VIOLENCE OCCURS SIMULTANEOUSLY AT DIFFERENT POINTS ON THE ISLAND.

49. THE MOST DIRE ELECTION SCENARIO KEYS OFF THE
DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY. THIS ONE HAS THE
ARMY AND POLICE UNABLE TO COPE WITH LARGE SCALE POLITICAL
VIOLENCE, DESPITE EMERGENCY POWERS, OR REFUSING TO
IMPLEMENT MANLEY'S ORDERS ON THE GROUNDS OF UNCONSTITU-
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PAGE 04 KINGST 02075 06 OF 08 220232Z

TIONALITY. IT WOULD BE A STAND-DOWN, NOT A REBELLION

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PAGE 01 KINGST 02075 07 OF 08 220233Z

70

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 7 OF 8 KINGSTON 2075/7

PER SE. WHATEVER THE COURSE, A DOMESTICALLY IMPOSED IMPOTENCE COULD PROMPT MANLEY TO CALL FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO HELP RESTORE PUBLIC ORDER. IT IS MOST LIKELY THAT THE CALL WOULD GO TO THE CUBANS AND THAT THEY WOULD RESPOND. ACCORDING TO A REPORT FROM THE VENEZUELAN DEFENSE ATTACHE, COLONEL LESLIE LLOYD, (NUMBER TWO MAN IN THE JDF) TOLD HIM THAT THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE CONTINGENCY HAS BEEN DISCUSSED WITHIN THE GOJ AND A DECISION TAKEN THAT NEITHER THE BRITISH NOR U.S. WOULD BE CALLED UPON, BUT RATHER THE CUBANS. LLOYD FURTHER ASSERTED THAT PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS ON THE SUBJECT WITH THE CUBANS ALREADY HAD TAKEN PLACE.

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PAGE 02 KINGST 02075 07 OF 08 220233Z

50. THE FOREGOING SCENARIOS RAISE OBVIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES OF THE PARTIES INVOLVED. THE EMBASSY IS PREPARING A SEPARATE REPORT ON THESE ASPECTS OF THE UPCOMING ELECTION; THEY ARE MENTIONED HERE NOW BECAUSE OF THEIR CURRENCY AMONG PERCEPTIVE OBSERVERS OF THE JAMAICAN SCENE.

51. POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF THE ELECTIONS - IN A RELATIVELY FREE AND FAIR ELECTION (BY JAMAICAN STANDARDS), WITHOUT EXCESSIVE VOTER INTIMIDATION, THE EMBASSY NOW ESTIMATES THE JLP WOULD EMERGE THE WINNER. THE DIFFICULTIES IN PREDICTING THE ELECTION ARE ALL THE QUALIFYING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT LEVELS OF FRAUD, INTIMIDATION, ETC. THROUGH SKILLFUL MANIPULATION AND CHICANERY, HOWEVER, THE PNP COULD EKE OUT A NARROW ELECTION VICTORY. THERE ARE TWO POSSIBLE COURSES THAT A PNP GOVERNMENT WITH A NEW FIVE-YEAR MANDATE MIGHT TAKE.

52. A NARROW PNP VICTORY, PARTICULARLY ONE IN WHICH PARTY MODERATES DID SIGNIFICANTLY BETTER AT THE POLLS THAN THE LEFT, MIGHT SERVE TO CHASTEN THE P.M AND CAUSE HIM TO REDUCE THE RHETORIC AND EASE UP ON HIS MILITANT MARCH TOWARDS ACHIEVING HIS BRAND OF "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM." IT WOULD BE A DIFFICULT AND VULNERABLE COURSE FOR MANLEY TO FOLLOW UNLESS HE COULD REGAIN SOME OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS AND PRIVATE SECTOR CONFIDENCE HE IS NOW SO SORELY LACKING; HE WOULD BE OPENING HIMSELF UP TO ATTACK FROM THE JAMAICAN LEFT BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE PNP AT PRECISELY THE SAME TIME HE WAS FACING A NEWLY STRENGTHENED JLP OPPOSITION.

53. THE OTHER POSSIBLE COURSE IS "DAMN THE TORPEDOES, FULL SPEED AHEAD." THIS THE EMBASSY CONSIDERS MORE LIKELY AND CONSISTENT WITH MANLEY'S SELF-RIGHTEOUS

CERTITUDE AND STYLE. THERE WOULD BE A GREATER
APING OF CUBAN ACTIONS (E.E., FORMATION OF A POPULAR
MILITIA, PEOPLE'S COURTS, STRENGTHENING OF PARTY
STRUCTURE VIS-A-VIS GOVERNMENT, ETC.) BUT NOT AN IN
TOTO ADOPTION OF THE CUBAN MODEL. THERE WOULD BE
DEFINITE MOVEMENT TOWARD DE FACTO ONE-PARTY STATE.
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PAGE 03 KINGST 02075 07 OF 08 220233Z

INDEED, GREATER STATE POWERS WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO
ENFORCE THE DISCIPLINE REQUIRED TO STRAIGHTEN OUT
THE ECONOMY. THE MOST LIKELY MODEL IS TANZANIAN
RATHER THAN CUBAN OR GUYANESE. THOSE MANLEY OPPONENTS
WHO HAD HELD OUT AND STAYED IN JAMAICA WOULD
THEN LEAVE THE COUNTRY EN MASSE, DEPRIVING THE OP-
POSITION OF VITAL SUPPORT AND CAUSING IT TO ATROPHY.

54. SHOULD THE JLP WIN, THERE WILL BE LITTLE ROLLING
BACK OF SOCIAL REFORMS AND CHANGE ALREADY INTRODUCED.
BUT THERE WILL BE A CONSOLIDATION PERIOD WITH FEW MAJOR
NEW INITIATIVES. THE FOCUS WILL BE ON REVIVAL OF THE
ECONOMY AND ON "LAW AND ORDER".

55. SIGNIFICANCE OF ELECTION FOR USG. OUR REAL,
PERCEIVED, AND IMAGINED ATTITUDES TOWARD JAMAICA WILL
FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN THE CAMPAIGN. THE PNP AND JLP
SUFFER A COMMON AFFLICTION; JAMAICA IS THE BELLY-BUT-
TON OF THE UNIVERSE AND THE USG IS PREOCCUPIED WITH
ITS FATE. BOTH WILL TRY TO FORCE US TO CHOOSE
SIDES, OR PAINT US INTO A CORNER.

56. MANLEY'S PNP DOESN'T TRUST US AND ASSUMES USG
HOSTILITY. THIS FEAR IS IN SOME MEASURE A LEGACY
OF THE DEROULET ERA; ATTITUDE IS CONDITIONED BY
INTERESTS AND IT IS ASSUMED WE SEEK RETRIBUTION FOR
THE BAUXITE LEVY. THE DAVID AND GOLIATH SYNDROME
ALREADY IS MANIFEST IN GOVERNMENT'S PREOCCUPATION
WITH WHAT IT BELIEVES TO BE HOSTILE AND "DESTABI-
LIZING" PRESS COVERAGE OF JAMAICA, WHICH, PNP LEA-
DERS INFER, IS BEING HARMONIZED BY THE USG AND THE
BAUXITE/ALUMINA COMPANIES.

57. THE SELF-RIGHTEOUS AND MESSIANIC QUALITY OF
MANLEY'S LEADERSHIP DOES NOT READILY ADMIT MIS-
MANAGEMENT OR MISTAKE. FOREIGN SCAPEGOATS ARE MORE
CONVENIENT. AS THE MOST IMPORTANT AND PROXIMATE
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE "CAPITALIST" AND DEVELOPED
WORLD WE WILL BE THE LEADING CANDIDATE FOR VILIFI-
CATION AND RATIONALIZATION OF FAILURE.

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PAGE 04 KINGST 02075 07 OF 08 220233Z

58. MANLEY MAY NOT DIRECTLY CHARGE THE CIA WITH
TRYING TO OVERTHROW HIS GOVERNMENT BECAUSE OF ITS

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PAGE 01 KINGST 02075 08 OF 08 220235Z

70

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 AID-05 PC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00

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R 211600Z MAY 76

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 8 OF 8 KINGSTON 2075/8

COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE, BUT HE WILL NOT
DISCOURAGE THE PNP YOUTH OR HIS MORE RADICAL SUP-
PORTERS FROM PROPAGATING THE LINE. WE WILL BE THE
SHIPPING BOY. THE INTENSITY OF ATTACK WILL BE A
FUNCTION OF THE PNP'S INSECURITY AND WEAKNESS.

59. THE JLP WILL BE AN EQUAL, THOUGH LESS OVERTLY TROUBLESOME PROBLEM. THE OPPOSITION ACTIVELY BUT QUIETLY IS SEEKING OUR MONEY AND SUPPORT TO COUNTER MANLEY'S "MARCH TO COMMUNISM". IT IS A VERY BASIC, GOOD GUY VERSUS BAD GUY APPEAL. PROTESTATIONS THAT WE CANNOT INVOLVE OURSELVES IN INTERNAL JAMAICAN POLITICS ARE GREETED WITH SILENT AND SUSPICIOUS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KINGST 02075 08 OF 08 220235Z

DISBELIEF. IN SHORT, THE OPPOSITION IS PRESSING FOR EXACTLY THE TYPE OF USG INVOLVEMENT THAT MANLEY SUSPECTS US OF.

60. WHOEVER EMERGES VICTORIOUS FROM THE ELECTION WILL FACE A FORMIDABLE PANOPLY OF PROBLEMS. INTERNAL A FRACTIOUS AND UNDISCIPLINED LABOR MOVEMENT. BOTH PARTIES HAVE NURTURED FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES A "PIE IN THE SKY NOW" ANTICIPATION IN THEIR AFFILIATED UNIONS. APPEALS FOR PRODUCTIVITY AND COMPETITIVENESS WILL FALL ON DEAF EARS. ORGANIZED LABOR HAS BEEN CONDITIONED TO THE RHETORIC OF THE OPPRESSED. AN ABRUPT TURNAROUND WILL BE RESENTED IF NOT REJECTED BY A PAMPERED LABOR ELITE LIKE THE BAUXITE WORKERS.

61. MANLEY APPARENTLY HAS LOST EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF THE PNP AFFILIATED NATIONAL WORKERS UNION (NWU); THE MOST EMBARRASSING AND DAMAGING STRIKES AND WORK STOPPAGES CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE ARE BEING PERPETRATED BY HIS OWN UNION. THE SITUATION IS CLOSE TO ANARCHICAL WITH THE NOMINAL UNION LEADERSHIP TAKING AN ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY REACTIVE ROLE, DESPERATELY TRYING TO GET ONE STEP AHEAD OF A MILITANT MEMBERSHIP WHICH IS CALLING WILD-CAT STRIKES AND VIOLATING CONTRACTS LEFT AND RIGHT. THE RANK AND FILE FEEL THAT WHATEVER ECONOMIC GAINS THEY MAY HAVE ACHIEVED IN RECENT YEARS HAVE NOW BEEN LOST TO INFLATION AND INCREASED TAXES.

62. THE SITUATION IN THE BITU marginally is better, thanks to the leadership role being played by Hugh Shearer, but he too sits on a powder keg. The NWU, BITU and lesser unions together have to all practical purposes brought the economy to the edge of paralysis. Getting organized labor into line e.g. scaling down expectations and developing some correlation between wage demands and productivity will be the toughest single task to be faced by the next government.

63. ONE THING WE CAN COUNT ON, IF THERE IS A JLP

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PAGE 03 KINGST 02075 08 OF 08 220235Z

VICTORY, IS A MASSIVE REQUEST FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE TO HELP PUT JAMAICA'S ECONOMIC HOUSE BACK IN ORDER. OPPOSITION MEMBERS ALREADY HAVE INTIMATED TO THE EMBASSY THAT THEY DO NOT RELISH INHERITING A BROKEN ECONOMY FROM THE PNP AND FRANKLY BELIEVE THERE IS LITTLE THEY CAN DO TO RECOUP THE SITUATION WITHOUT LARGE SCALE CONCESSIONAL LENDING FROM OVERSEAS.

64. REGARDING THE MAJOR DIRECT U.S. INTEREST IN JAMAICA, THE ELECTION OUTCOME MAY IN THEORY MAKE LITTLE DIFFERENCE WITH RESPECT TO ACCESS TO JAMAICAN BAUXITE AND ALUMINA. NO MATTER WHO WINS, JAMAICA WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK TO THE U.S. AS ITS PRIMARY MARKET. THE ONE QUALIFICATION TO THIS STATEMENT FLOWS FROM THE POSSIBILITY THAT A FRUSTRATED AND RADICALIZED MANLEY GOVERNMENT MIGHT TURN TO EXPROPRIATION OF THE MAJOR ALUMINUM COMPANIES INVESTMENTS IN JAMAICA. SUCH ACTION, COUPLED WITH LABOR PROBLEMS, LOSS OF MANAGEMENT AND TECHNICAL SKILLS, ETC., COULD LEAD TO DRAMATIC PRODUCTION CUTBACKS AND/OR CLOSDOWNS WHICH WOULD AFFECT THE SUPPLY OF JAMAICAN BAUXITE AND ALUMINA. DORRANCE

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